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FIDELISMO IN PERUVIAN UNIVERSITIES

Part I: A New Platform for Old Causes

by Richard W. Patch

January 1961

Universities in Latin America are often the places where political philosophies are honed to a fine edge. The venerable University of San Marcos in Lima nurtured a philosophy which once had hemispheric pretensions and, embodied in a party, twice held power in Peru. That party, Apra, was conceived more than 30 years ago in the minds of students in the square, squat, sky-blue building, and in 1956 Apra was instrumental in bringing the present conservative President, Manuel Prado, to the ornate Government Palace. Today, Apra is a sick party, led by middle-aged revolutionaries, compromised by its 1956 pact with Prado, its founder and titular head, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, on permanent vacation in Europe. As Apra's vital spark becomes more feeble in the university, a new, vital, and portentous philosophy daily gains vigor. It is nourished by the same Cuban potpourri which has given fresh impetus to old revolutionary ideas on two continents. Now the cry of "Cuba Si! Yanquis No!" resounds in the palm-shaded patios of San Marcos.

Castro could be stricken tomorrow but only the man would vanish. Fidelismo--wild, disorganized, but reducible to an impelling theme of rejecting present power structures regardless of consequences--would lose its unpredictable leader, gain

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a constant martyr, and march on to renewed challenges of the powers that be. Not surprisingly he has become the symbol of the have-not revolutionaries overthrowing the privileged few and defying the Northern Colossus. The United States must take cognizance of, even if it rejects, a political philosophy which identifies it with tyranny, oppression, and exploitation.

Even though every country in the Western Hemisphere were to break diplomatic relations with Cuba, even if Castro were to fall, the movement of which he is the spokesman would still continue and perhaps even prosper in the other countries of Latin America. It would prosper until a beginning is made to bridge the great gulf between the rich and the poor of a continent and a half living in the shadow of a powerful country which appears to its southern neighbors to flaunt its wealth, to have solved the problem of poverty. Mass communications have given the unfortunate impression that the United States is a paradise on earth, an attainable paradise. The Latin-in-the-street who buys lottery tickets, who shrugs at boarding a decrepit airplane saying he will die when God wills it, does not readily see the connection between the United States political system and its economic organization. Rather, it is fate; the United States is rich because it is lucky. Once Latin Americans' fatalism and rigid social institutions combined to produce a stultified acquiescence to the "nature of things." Today the social barriers are crumbling, and the realization dawns, "I too can be lucky." If the economic means are not at hand, let them be political. Castro's politics appeal to the emergent fatalists. If enough of the rich are broken, I may benefit, is their thought. Through all the reasoning is the pleasant sensation of attacking those who are envied: the rich, the privileged, the United States.

The new aspirations, called "discontent" by many, are strongly felt in the universities, especially a university such as San Marcos, where most students meet the modest costs only at great sacrifice. Their sense of deprivation is real, their search for a political voice is understandable within its context.

Caught unawares in his day dreams the North American seeing UNIVERSITY flashed on a screen is likely to think of ivied buildings, crew-cut or baggy-kneed professors, and Saturday football with a marching band. Although more conscious layers of sophistication may intervene it is still an exercise of the imagination for him to associate UNIVERSITY with "the most important political bellwether in the country."

Yet the exercise is necessary for such is the case in much of Latin America, certainly in Peru. Politics is not a game in the university, it is a completely serious business for students and professors alike.[1]

Student politicians are playing for larger stakes than campus offices.

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[1] See Politics and the University (RWP-5-'58), an AUFS publication.

They are beginning careers which may take them to power or exile within a very few years. Most student politics is directed to national goals and the students expect to become national figures. In the nation the way up is seldom through a series of petty offices in the hierarchy of existing parties, more often it is through ad hoc organizations springing up around new personalities. The establishment of the organizations and a semblance of ideology to give them stature is an important part of university life, and it is followed with close attention by the nation as a whole.

The Cuban revolution, even with its rough-and-ready philosophy, is a special boon to those students who are perennial revolutionaries because revolution appears to them the only way out of the status quo and up the road to personal power. Before the Cuban affair many looked to the Soviet Union and to China, studying Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Chou En-lai. But a Latin revolution, is much more attractive, particularly one which has embarrassed the United States.

It is impossible to convey in general terms a realistic impression of the importance of politics in the universities. Perhaps a better way is to examine in detail one case: the origin and spread of Fidelismo, the complexities of student strategy, and its ramifications within the nation.

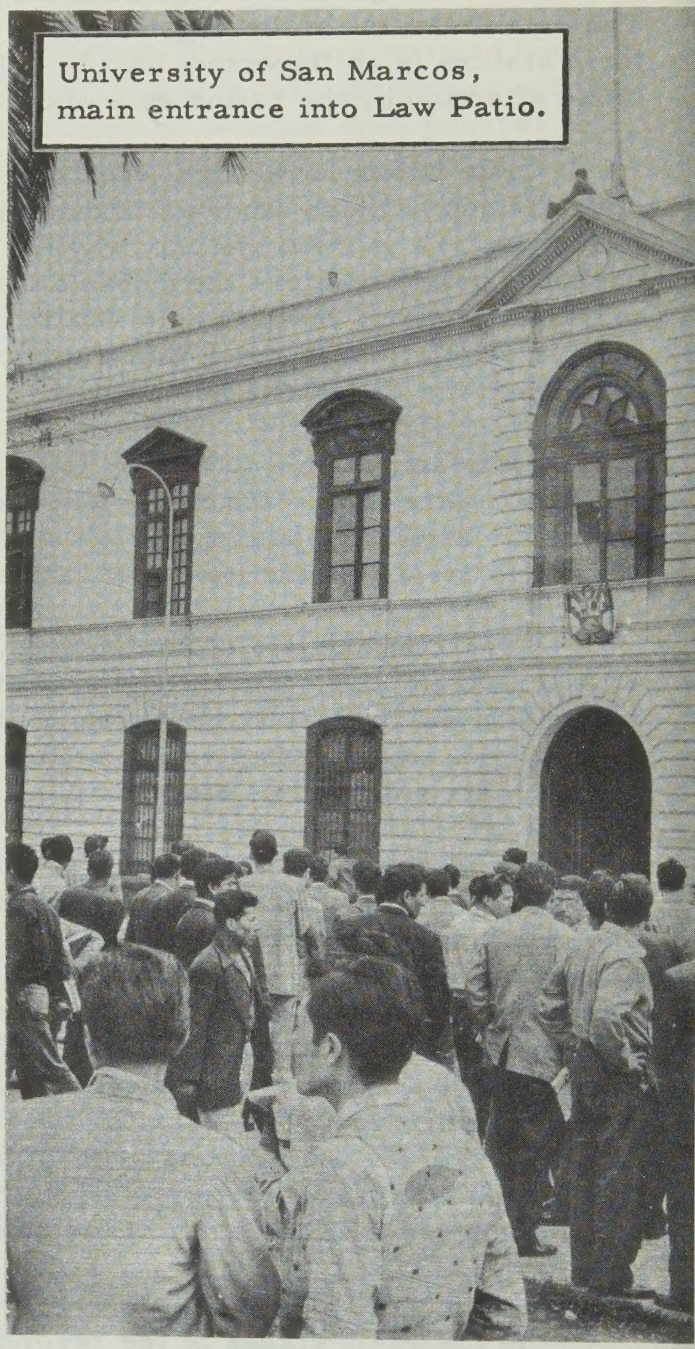
The Communists of San Marcos have turned to the Cuban revolution as a screen for their activities and behind it they are spreading their doctrine not only in the university but throughout the nation. At first non-Communist groups, too, adulated Castro but as Russia's role in Cuba became clearer the Communists emerged as his champions in Peru.

Even before the 26th of July Movement succeeded in ousting Batista on January 1, 1959, three student "fronts" gave it their unconditional support. They were the FUR (University Reform Front, Aprista); the FER (Revolutionary Student Front, Communist); and the FEI (Independent Student Front, composed of supporters of Fernando Belaunde, Christian Democrats, and some partisans of Manuel Prado). Although students active in these fronts are a minority of the total student body, within this minority is the hard core of active politicians. However, by the time a student assembly was held on July 26, 1958, for the purpose of forming still another front supporting Castro, it was estimated that a majority of San Marcos' 10,000 students sympathized to some degree with the aims of the new front, called the University Leftist Front.

In the early stages of the revolution it was the Aprista FUR which was most demonstrative in its support. It participated in the formation of the Peruvian Movement for the Liberation of Cuba, a national organization headed by Pablo Silva Villacorta.[2] Silva's principal collaborator was the active Aprista, Hilda Gadea, onetime wife of Castro's gray eminence, Ernesto Guevara. University Apristas were especially anxious to latch onto the 26th of

July Movement in 1958 because it would make them once more appear to be a revolutionary party, a reputation badly tarnished by their 1956 agreement with Manuel Prado who is anything but revolutionary.

The Communists joined the race for identification with a movement which had so much popular appeal and support. Their FER set up the far left-wing University Leftist Front on July 26, 1958, presided over by Alfonso Barrantes Lingan--an ex-Aprista thrown out of the party for his Communist sympathies. Under such a president competition with the Apristas was inevitable. The University Leftist Front held its first mass meeting in the Law Patio of the university on September 5, 1958, highlighted by speeches of the university's best-known student Communist sympathizers, Juan Alberto Campos Lama and Felix Arias Schreiber.



University of San Marcos, main entrance into Law Patio.

The struggle to be the loudest supporter of Castro's revolution came to a head in March 1959, when a delegation of Cubans arrived in Lima. The delegation was headed by Jorge Enrique Mendoza, a student of law and journalism at the University of Havana, and included three young officers (one a girl), two soldiers, and a priest. The Apristas furnished free transportation from University Park to the airport for a large force carrying placards proclaiming, "The Aprista Party Salutes Its Cuban Brothers." The Apristas had won the first round.

In the airport the chief of the Cuban delegation made clear his feel-

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[2] In Peru, even more than in many other Latin American countries, it is customary to use the maternal as well as the paternal name. The paternal name follows the first name, the maternal name is last.

ings toward Peru: "Comrades, this moment I am experiencing one of the greatest emotions of our lives . . . . We want to show before the world that we are men who know how to fight for our liberty with rifles and with the pen . . . . You understood the pain, the suffering, the fighting, the restlessness of the people of Cuba. Today we say to you we have understood the problems of Peru and we adopt them as our own!" He went on to speak of the Cuban agrarian reform and special measures taken for women and children, then proceeded to the name of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, founder of Apra, "whose political and social doctrines have transcended all limits to become a doctrine of the coming together of Indo-America.[3] We have used much of the doctrinal teaching of this great man in the 26th of July Movement to orient the cause of liberty in Cuba."

The delegation carried out an ambitious program. They laid wreaths not only at the "must" monuments to Bolívar and San Martín but at the minor but strategic monuments to Manco Capac, an Indian revolutionary of colonial times, and Leoncio Prado. They visited Congress to thank the Chamber of Deputies for Peruvian help to the revolution. The Archbishopric was visited but no statement was made about it. Inevitably a television round table was held. In a press conference at the Hotel Bolívar, Mendoza stated that "our thesis is nationalism, but a nationalism not limited to our island; rather a continental nationalism in which we seek political liberty and the blessings of social justice and economic independence for Cuba and for America."

One of the most important of the delegation's expositions took place in the University of San Marcos. This was too important an occasion to be left to the "fronts" but was sponsored by the University Federation, the governing body of the students of all colleges and political complexions. The Cubans were welcomed by Alberto Franco Ballester, then president of the University Federation, who stressed that the delegates were being honored by "youths,[4] who have no brief for the imperialists now at swords' points, and much less for the North American imperialists or the Feudal Oligarchies [a polite term for the Peruvian Government]." A Cuban law student, Orlando Benites, replied, "the Cuban revolution is directed toward the goal of the emergence of youth to its destiny of the material and spiritual fusion of all the people of Indo-America." The Cuban priest, Father Sardiñas, added with serpentine logic and apropos of very little: "They [the clergy] at no time pushed youths to their deaths, rather the martyrs and those survivors who continue

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[3] "Indo-America" is an Apra word, favorite of Haya de la Torre, used as a substitute for Latin America.

[4] His term was "juventud," a word with all the positive connotations and practically none of the negative connotations of its literal translation into English. Actually, as used here, it is tantamount to "the coming generation." To speak deprecatingly of "youths" as in English one must use a word such as mocoso, descriptively derived from "mucous."

fighting at the side of the rebel forces intuited that their destiny of leadership was an example of sacrifice for liberty and human dignity."

An Aprista leader, Carlos Enrique Melgar, president of the Peruvian Students Federation,[5] regretted that a certain part of the Peruvian press had "maintained silence during Cuba's most mournful hours" and that in contrast the four leading Lima dailies, La Prensa, El Comercio, La Cronica, and Ultima Hora, carried extensive coverage of the drumhead courts and the summary executions carried out in Castro's early days, and editorialized pointedly against them.

The Cuban head of the delegation concluded matters saying: "Youth must show the way once and for all that the doctrine of Indo-America is respected with firm unanimity so there shall be no more dictators and the people will be brothers. With such a base the commonweal will truly belong to all." And he solemnly closed the convocation with a minute of silence.

The Communist Tactic

The Aprista-26th of July honeymoon did not last long. The Peruvian press never quite got over Castro's mass executions. As Ernesto Guevara became more prominent and Russian and Communist Chinese ties more obvious, the international news agencies wrote more critically of the Castro Government. Peruvian newspapers depend heavily upon North American and European news reports with the result that they began to stress Soviet interest in Cuba. Apra, although its propaganda is anti-American, is not Communist. Because of its anomalous position of "coexistence" with the Prado Government, still less could it afford to become associated with a Communist government. Without making any open declarations Apra slowly began to disassociate itself from the 26th of July Movement in Peru. In the university the FUR no longer held manifestations celebrating the Cuban revolution, nor did the Apristas take part in the meetings of other fronts.

Considering the mixed political inclinations of its members, the Independent Student Front was not prepared to take advantage of the situation. Rather, with their openly Communist leanings, the Revolutionary Student Front (FER) and its offspring, the University Leftist Front, moved to the vanguard of the defenders of the 26th of July Movement upon the retreat of the Apristas.

The FER began to exploit its new pre-eminence in May of 1959 by staging a mass student rally protesting the "calumnies of the yellow press" against the Cuban Government. It took pains to extend its influence beyond the walls of the university by inviting nonuniversity people such as Guillermo

[5] An interuniversity student organization.

Scheen Lazo, Secretary-General of the Privately Employed Workers Union. He and the student speakers, César Franco Ballester and Felix Arias Schreiber, not only scored the "calumnies" of the local and international newspapers, but fired barbs at the now silent Apra.

Before Apra's retreat Communist activities in the university stressed the gains of Soviet Russia and the satellite countries. The theme was always that Russia, subjected to the dictatorship of the czars until well into the 20th century, managed by its revolution to convert itself in 40 years into a world power equal or superior to the United States. (Russia's space achievements have been celebrated in the ornate Salon General.) Motion pictures were shown, posters were pasted on the walls, and students and others who had visited Russia spoke on the wonders of socialism. Red China was discussed and praised with somewhat less intensity. Cuba was hardly mentioned until it was taken up by the Aprista FUR. Only when the FUR abandoned the 26th of July Movement did the university Communists find it a good idea to de-emphasize Russia and Red China and move Cuba into the foreground. They then paid particular attention to the Cuban agrarian reform (an explosive subject in Peru) and the "Americanness" of the movement; they shouted that Cuba was the first American republic to "sweep the Yanqui imperialists from its soil," and decreed that a similar movement was needed to change "our own anachronistic political and economic system."

But the Peruvian press, mainly through the use of North American releases, continued to identify the 26th of July Movement with international communism. To combat this impression the best known Communist sympathizers moved behind the scenes. These leaders are not known cardholders, but they have followed the Party line with such fidelity over the years that other students, for the sake of simplicity, tag them as "Communists," a name they have not rejécted. These well-known personages selected new leaders from the ranks and began the formation of "cultural" organizations. Students have called the new personalities "tontos utiles," literally "useful fools"--figureheads who have had little political experience and who can be expected to follow orders. The new leaders apparently diluted the Communist taint, and the new organizations made it possible to reach beyond the university in still another way.

In this maneuver university Communist-liners of the stature of Alfonso Barrantes Lingan, Felix Arias Schreiber, and Juan Alberto Campos Lama, entered into conversations with university alumni such as Ernesto More, Deputy for Puno; Alejandro Romualdo Valle, journalist and poet who won a national poetry prize in 1949; and Ángel Gustavo Valcárcel, dramatist, poet, essayist, and ex-Aprista who won a 1947 literary prize and the 1948 National Poetry Prize. He has titled some of his poetry collections, The Prison, The Agony of Peru, Poems of Exile, and Latent Dawn.

With their and others' help a lethargic intellectual group called Primero de Mayo (May 1st) was transformed into the José Carlos Mariátegui

Juan Alberto Campos Lama, in University Park after election as president of the Student Federation of San Marcos, 1959.

Institute.[6] Leading lights were Romualdo Valle, Juan Gonzalo Rose, and Ángel Gustavo Valcárcel. Officers were such previously little-known students as Luís Peñaflor and Víctor Carrillo. Juan Alberto Campos Lama became an active member, but not an officer. The group held meetings, organized a "Mariátegui Week," and attracted such luminaries as Sebastián Salazár Bondy, a well-known and widely read editorial writer for El Comercio.[7] Word and influence were spread by sending the fellow-traveling poets into the provinces. Romualdo Valle went to Arequipa, where his talk was more political than poetical according to Arturo Buroncle Peralta, president of the Student Federation of Arequipa.

Another of the associations founded, also in November 1959, was the

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[6] José Carlos Mariátegui was the founder and guiding spirit of the Peruvian Communist Popular Front in the '20's and until his early death.

[7] El Comercio opposes the Government and is the bitter foe of La Prensa, owned by Peru's Prime Minister, Pedro Beltrán. For many years it has been so relentless in rooting out Aprismo (two Apristas were convicted of assassinating a Comercio editor) that its articles and editorials often sound like the Communist line.

Peruvian Soviet Institute. Dr. Manuel Beltroy, Professor of the History of Art in the University of San Marcos, was elected president. As in the José Mariátegui Institute meetings are devoted to discussions of communism and principles of the Cuban revolution. For the proletariat, university Communists organized associations called "Rumiñahui" and "Ninahuanca" whose members are university students from Indian communities and young laborers also from Quechua-speaking communities. In rapid succession there were also formed the Peruvian Movement for Peace, Ernesto More (a national Deputy), president; and the Committee for the Liberation of Algeria. Forming a sort of interlocking directorate among all of these organizations are such students as Felix Arias Schreiber, Alfonso Barrantes Lingan, Roberto Rendón Velásquez (student of law, and simultaneously student in the Institute of Ethnology, a branch of the university conducting research in Indian communities and apparently considered by Communist students a means of entry into the Indian society), and Víctor Carrera Durand, a student of the Institute of Ethnology who was one of the leaders who helped (from atop a lamppost) direct the stoning of Vice President Nixon at the university, was briefly jailed then given (through the Czechoslovakian Legation) a four-year scholarship for study in East Germany. Also controlling the groups are such outsiders as Ernesto More, Alejandro Romualdo Valle, and Genaro Carnero Checa. Carnero Checa is an exception, being among the best-known Communists in Peru, author of El Aguila Rampante (The Rampant Eagle, an indictment of United States activities in Latin America), and ex-president of the Peruvian Journalists Federation. Carnero Checa is, among many other things, Secretary-General of the University Department of Cultural Extension of the Institute of Advanced Studies. Communist influence in the University of San Marcos is situated to move in many directions and at all levels.

One of the groups created by the intellectual Left of Peru demonstrates the strange alliances which can be made in a country with vigorous political activity. One of the facts of Peruvian political life is the repression which the Apristas suffered at the hands of the recent Far Right dictator (1948-56), Manuel Odría--who threatens to return to Peru and enter the Presidential elections of 1962. A strong supporter of Odría, Ricardo Alcalde Mongrut, Deputy for Cajamarca, describes himself as an "authentic independent," but he was recently named president of the newly formed Association of the Friends of Popular China, and his leanings in the Chamber of Deputies have been described as "redder than blood." It is worthy of note that Odría himself, in his anti-Aprista campaign, occasionally encouraged Communist sympathizers. In the oil exploiting town of Talara, for example, the Aprista oil workers union was forced underground in Odría's time. Odría recognized instead a new union headed by Juan Aldana, which calls itself "Socialist" but which consistently follows the Communist line and receives correspondence if not directives from front organizations in other Latin American countries. In Peru, as in so many other places, there is a strange affinity between the Far Right and the Far Left when the question concerns tactics of survival.

The Influence of Cuba

The Cuban Ambassador to Peru, far from remaining aloof from the activities in the university, took an enterprising part in them. The weekly newspaper, El Volcán, stated that "his high office never limited him to simply extending the hands of the thousands of workers of his country. Instead he broke at once the frivolity and intransigence of bourgeois diplomacy and made the Cuban Embassy a spacious spiritual home of the men of the people [of Peru]." Diplomat Rodrigo Alonso indeed became a peculiar kind of ambassador. Recently, at a student meeting held in his honor in the university before he returned to Cuba, Alonso declared, "The most difficult thing for me is to know what to say and what not to say. Many times one's situation as a diplomat prohibits one from saying certain things he would like to say. But we will have the opportunity to speak freely in Cuba about those things which we cannot say here, because you will soon be in Cuba, is it not so?"

Later, after talking of the role of the University of Havana in the Cuban revolution, he concluded his remarks with the blunt statement, "As the Cuban revolution was born in the University of Havana, we hope that the Peruvian revolution will grow out of the University of San Marcos!" This sort of statement, together with more direct activities, make it understandable why Peru broke diplomatic relations with Cuba even before the United States did.

A functionary of the Cuban Embassy attended all meetings of the FER. This interest can be interpreted as economic as well as political if one credits frequent charges in La Prensa that funds were received in the Embassy by Juan Alberto Campos Lama and distributed to persons unknown but presumably students. It is evident that Party-lining students who lived from hand to mouth in the days before the Cuban revolution are now enjoying relative affluence. An open source of funds for students and others is the money paid by Castro's news agency, Prensa Latina. Prensa Latina thus serves the double purpose of supplying pro-Castro stories to the local press, and of being an apparently legitimate mechanism to provide resources to the faithful. Red China also maintains in Lima a representative of its news agency, New China, Guido Silva Santisteban. Silva functions not only in this capacity, but as one of the key men selecting Peruvians, including students, to visit Communist China, Russia, and satellite countries.

Campos Lama has lost much of his usefulness as a liaison between the Cuban authorities and Peruvian students, ironically because of his attendance in Havana recently at the First Latin American Youth Conference. According to his statement the Peruvian delegation was given the task of drafting a statement of harmony between the republics of Peru and Ecuador. Then he and the rest of the Peruvian delegation made up a draft which he maintains contained no mention of the territorial dispute raging between the two countries. He turned it over to the Ecuadorians for their comments, and says he never saw it again. When it appeared in the Havana and Ecuadorian, and even-

tually Peruvian, newspapers the statement had become an unqualified endorsement of Ecuador's rights to the territory under question. A university group declared Campos Lama, "Traitor to the Fatherland" and forced him to resign the presidency of the Student Federation of San Marcos, to which he was elected in 1959. At present Campos Lama has ceased attending the university, but his supporters insist that he is a victim of Pedro Beltrán, Prime Minister of Peru and owner of La Prensa, the Lima paper which picked up the story from Ecuadorian sources.

University Fidelismo and the National Government

Campos Lama and the university Fidelistas continue their war with Beltrán. The crucial test facing Beltrán, and indeed the Prado Government, is the question of the nationalization of the International Petroleum Company's holdings in northern Peru.[8] Beltrán, the Government, the company, and the majority of workers of the Aprista Petroleum Workers Union, favor a plan under which the holdings will become Government property in a period of 30 years. Most of the opposition, particularly the anti-Apristas, formed the National Front for the Defense of the Petroleum which demands immediate expropriation of the oil properties. A prominent member of this front is, of course, Juan Alberto Campos Lama. The front and its sympathizers in the Chamber of Deputies forced the interpellation[9] of the Prime Minister in the Chamber of Deputies. Beltrán was summoned to answer for his gradual nationalization plan, and other matters. Chief spokesman for the "Defense Front" was Deputy Benavides Correa who launched a violent attack on Beltrán and called for immediate expropriation of the oil fields. The Student Federation--a majority of its directorate are Castro sympathizers--scheduled a meeting in University Park (in front of the main entrance to the university, for decades the scene of student convocations and disorders, including the Nixon affair) to hear a tape recording of Benavides Correa's speech (in spite of the fact that the entire text of the speech had appeared in El Comercio).

The Student Federation failed to get Government permission for the meeting--apparently it did not make the attempt. The students assembled, only to be attacked by police with tear gas, thus preventing the recording from being played. The extraordinary part of the affair is that persons among the students had their own supply of tear gas bombs which they threw back at the police--the first such incident in the university. Some students claimed the bombs were thrown not by them but by Luís Felipe Angell, who under the name of "Sofocleto" writes a sometimes mordant, sometimes silly, column of political satire in El Comercio.

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[8] See An Oil Company Builds a Town (RWP-2-'58), an AUFS publication.

[9] Interpellation is the summoning of any Cabinet member before the Chamber to answer specific questions relating to Cabinet actions. His defense may become a matter for a vote of confidence.

This illustrates something of the power of Fidelista students in national politics. The interpellation did not produce a vote against Beltrán, but the aftermath was acutely embarrassing to the Prime Minister and the Government.

Fidelismo in the Provincial Universities

Fidelismo is not limited to the University of San Marcos. It has also begun to flourish in the university of the coastal city of Trujillo, north of Lima. The movement, however, had a different origin from the patently Communist sources of Fidelismo in the capital. Trujillo is the birthplace of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre. It was here, in 1932, that fanatic Apristas captured and butchered a garrison of soldiers after Haya de la Torre's army-insured defeat in the Presidential elections of 1931. In retaliation, the army moved in and slaughtered some 5,000 Apristas in Trujillo. Consequently it has rèmained one of the most rabidly Aprista cities in Peru. This seems unlikely ground for breeding Fidelistas, but in Peru, when a political action is strong the reaction may be even stronger. Fidelismo in the university and the city of Trujillo is almost entirely the work of two ex-Apristas, José Gasco and Carlos de la Puente, who formed what they call the Rebel Apra. During their student days in the law faculty at the University of Trujillo, these men were brilliant leaders with great influence over other students who were mainly Apristas. In fact Aprismo was nearly a religion in the university, so much so that Apra's agreement with Prado four years ago (after which the party leaders in Lima sent out an eleventh hour directive for members to vote for the conservative candidate --in exchange for support Prado promised Apra party recognition and cabinet posts) struck the students like Stalin's pact with Hitler struck many Communists. The new doctrine of coexistence was considered a betrayal by many of the revolutionary Trujillo Apristas. Among the disaffected were Gasco and de la Puente who turned to Fidelismo in 1958 as a more genuinely revolutionary movement. They spent considerable time in Cuba and returned to Trujillo bringing with them Castro's ideas on agrarian reform, cheap housing, and identifying "Yanqui imperialism" with the "Peruvian oligarchy." They were finally expelled from Apra for their part in the peasant invasion of a nearby hacienda, Chepén, in which several persons lost their lives.

It was natural that Gasco and de la Puente should make use of their remaining great influence among the university students. The revolutionary ideas of the 26th of July Movement were well adapted to the social and economic situation of the students, most of whom are from relatively poor farming and laboring families. The sons and daughters of the larger landowners are sent to study in Lima (often the Catholic University) or abroad. For the economically poorer students it is but a short step to distort the United States' friendly relations with Peru as a whole into mere cynical support of Peru's upper class. It is perfectly true that the most efficient and straightforward way to maintain relations with a country is to deal with the group in power. The United States

has not yet solved the dilemma, as it must, of how to conduct its relations with a country in which the controlling group is not only unpopular but the object of revolutionary activities.

Arequipa is another center of population, one well into the mountains, but connected to other centers by excellent roads. Arequipa has long been known as the revolutionary city of Peru, the place where barracks rise against their officers, where popular causes are given their trial by fire in armed revolts. In such an atmosphere one would expect Fidelismo to be rife in Arequipa's University of San Agustín. But such is not the case. Paradoxically, one reason for this is that as a whole the Arequipa area is agriculturally and industrially poorer than the area from which Trujillo draws its students, and certainly poorer than Lima. Here, in the mountains, work is scarce, unemployment is common, wages are low, and land is hard to come by. The result is that small landholders and the lower economic class find it impossible to meet even the few expenses and the loss of working time involved in acquiring an education at San Agustín. The other reason members of this class found it impossible to attend the university is that, until very recently, attendance at lectures was obligatory--unlike the easy-going attendance requirements at other universities. By far the majority of students at San Marcos, and in all probability at Trujillo, supplement their meager family allowances by part-time jobs which often interfere with class attendance. This is tolerated, and in fact professors are often greater offenders than the students. But in San Agustín required attendance has been dropped under pressure only in recent months. For these reasons San Agustín was "closed" to students of modest means, and the relatively wealthier students attending are of less revolutionary material. This does not mean that there are no Communists. In Peru, it seems, a proportion of students will always be against the established order, no matter what the order is or their connection with it. But Communist sympathizers in the university are few compared to Lima and Trujillo. The newer doctrine of Fidelismo appears to have reached Arequipa only tentatively and in late months. But one may be certain that if the Arequipa Communist student leaders adopt the tactics of the San Marcos leaders, de-emphasizing Russian communism in favor of the more immediate and meaningful doctrines of the Cuban movement at the same time that a less privileged class of students is allowed to attend the university by the relaxation of the attendance rule, Fidelismo will spread even more rapidly than in Lima.

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Obviously Fidelismo is more than anti-Americanism. It is also more (or less) than simple communism. It is a tool, ready at hand, to attack present social and economic problems. The problems have existed for centuries, but impenetrable social stratification and strong political control prevented them from becoming issues. Ideals of personal democracy if not the forms of democracy have made headway in the last quarter century. A lingering fatalism interferes with a concept of the political and economic universe which North

Americans would propagate, but aspirations have been stirred.

Unless the aspirations are realized in other ways the alternative symbolized by Fidel Castro Ruz will appear reasonable. It is only a new formulation of old ideas, but a formulation which has been carried to shattering extremes in Cuba. To some the link with the Soviet Union is not an unwelcome element, and many applaud the discomfiture of the United States which appears to have so much and to have done so little for Latin America. Many also realize that heavy United States investment in some countries has not greatly benefited the poor, not because of United States intent, but because of their own political and social forms. But envy is a powerful weapon, and, under present circumstances, it is expedient to identify the United States with the Domestic Oligarchy.

A popular image of United States aid and trade in Latin America is that "it helps the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." If the United States as a matter of national policy is interested in diminishing the attractiveness of Fidelismo, diplomatic sanctions are not enough, if indeed they are wise. Instead, the United States must thoroughly re-examine its relations with Latin American governments which only imperfectly represent their peoples, despite the great problems this raises.

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